1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

maternal lineage of the maternal grandmother. I have on record no actual instances of this arrangement, for which informants could give no native name.

The status of an adopted child in a family is the same as that of a blood child. The precise kinship terms applied to the parent-child relationship are *tama kokoti* or *tama wangai*, and *matua kokoti* or *love* or *matua wangai*. These are rarely used save for the sake of pedantic exactness in the discussion of genealogies. In fact, the *tama kokoti* is considered to be the child of the adopting parents in everything save the accident of conception and parturition, though here the fiction is that the adopting parents are sociologically the parents even during gestation. The adopting parents are *matua*, and the child is *tama*, in the full sociological sense of the kinship terms. The child loses all status, kinship and sociological, in relation to his blood family. All kinship ties established by birth are broken, and new kinship obligations are formulated according to the relationships of his adopting parents. As the child grows up, he may be permitted to visit his blood parents, whom, of course, he soon learns to know; he may help with their work, or care for them in sickness. But it is to the adopting parents that the child owes primary obligations, and on whom he is supposed to lavish his care and affection.

Because of the complete sociological break brought about by adoption it is regarded as the blackest treachery for the blood parents, through motives of natural affection or economic advantage, to encourage the child to visit them. Some parents are known to do this by petting the child when he visits them, by saving choice tidbits for him, and by treating him with a more lavish display of affection than he receives from his adoptive parents. Such actions are resented by the adoptive parents who expect the blood parents to do nothing to revive blood ties. If a child goes to them they should send him away, resorting to violence if necessary, to show the child that he is unwanted. Similarly, adoptive parents are fully justified in severely whipping an adopted child who persists in visiting his blood parents. No punishment less than manslaughter is considered too drastic for the child who deserts his adoptive parents. If, in spite of punishment, ties of blood and affection are so strong that the child ultimately deserts his adoptive parents, as in fact sometimes happens, then there is nothing for the adoptive parents to do but to moralise on the iniquity of human nature or try adopting another child.

KINSHIP

Pukapukan kinship terms are listed in table 7. Beyond the fact that there is much confusion in the minds of informants today as to the exact extension of certain terms, particularly of those characterising avoidance

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakaemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

Tuiva informed the whole island, "Listen you to me, O the island. Kilika shall have charge of the back of the island, while I stay in the central island and the point of the island to protect it, so that no bad ideas grow." The people were to increase; the number of the men reached in the time of Tuiva to a thousand and one hundred. He also made as his old men's group, men crawling with age; they were old men. Thus it has come down to the time of light now; no other fight has arisen.

Obviously Tuiva was a hot-headed man, led astray by his excessive feelings for his children. Where their welfare was concerned he had no mercy on his brother. He was undoubtedly at fault in violating the tapu of the sacred enclosure, where Takitini had taken refuge, and Watuinoana was quick to take the excuse to alarm men from Yato in an attempt to wipe out Tuiva and his supporters, and incidentally to secure the women of the island for themselves—a characteristic Pukapukan touch. However, kinship ties cut across ties based on village groupings. Tuiva was informed in advance of the plot against him and managed, with the aid of his supporters, to defeat and kill the Yato men. Those not killed in the fight committed suicide by having their relatives bury them alive, a not infrequently mentioned method of self-destruction.

Further White Contact

No further incidents are remembered of the regency of Tuiva. With the accession of Ikilua, the main chiefly line was resumed once more, coming down to the present day. Two voyages from Pukapuka to Samoa were made. Two further visits of European ships immediately before the coming of the missionaries are remembered. One was the visit of the Peruvian slave raiders about 1862 or 1863. The other was the visit of a white man's ship about 1850. It was named by the Pukapukans Te Valea-o-lalangi.

When the ship was sighted, the canoes approached it, and after the coconut midrib *yiliyili* was kept by those aboard the vessel, the people went aboard to exchange goods. Each lineage tried to get as many European goods as possible in order to increase its prestige. Among the things obtained from this boat were ropes and iron objects, clothes (first called *kili langi* or *la kupenga*), and black tobacco leaf which they named *tutao* because it resembled the blackened oven covers removed from the native oven after the food is cooked.

One man, Kautoki of Muliwutu, saw an animal which he thought was a large rat, but which was a dog belonging to the captain of the vessel. Profiting by a diversion of interest and finding the dog opposite a swinging scupper, Kautoki pushed it through the scupper; it fell into his canoe moored beneath. The people in the canoe hid it under some mats. Kautoki jumped into the canoe and it sheered away. The captain missed his dog and, thinking it was in one of the canoes, picked up a gun and fired at them. At this all the people tumbled into their canoes and pushed away from the boat. One man, Yalewalu, was left on the boat. He jumped overboard but was hit by shot and wounded. He swam to a canoe and was hauled in. All the canoes began to paddle frantically to the reef, but still the boat's crew continued to fire on them. The canoe crews prayed to their gods to protect them, but one man, Malo by name, was killed by a shot, for he had broken a tapu and was therefore not protected by his god as were the others. The shots splaying up the water were likened by the people to shoals of

6 :Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca. 1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 present itself regarding the factors bearing upon the development of personality differences.

The following material in no sense represents the fulfilment of a somewhat ambitious project. Owing to various exigencies of fieldwork[1] over which we had no control it was neither possible to study Pukapukan children with the detail they deserved, nor solve all the problems and hypotheses which we took with us into the field. Enough material was collected, however, to prove without doubt the fruitfulness of this aspect of Sapir's approach to the problems of personality. Some of this material is summarized here. If it raises more problems than it suggests answers to, this again is but tribute to Sapir's scientific acumen. After all, no new scientific approach is worth much unless it, at one and the same time, both suggests questions that should be asked and opens up wide fields of investigation. The sterile problem is the one that can most easily be answered.

II

842 The process of growing up in Pukapuka, as viewed from the vantage point of custom and
573 institution, is for the average child an uneventful and straightforward business. Children
848 are eagerly desired by almost all parents. Male children are necessary to establish the continuity of descent and lineage. Both male and female children provide a form of old age insurance. Both, too, help to increase the flow of food into the family that results from regularly recurring village food divisions. Both sexes are also desired because the Pukapukan has real love and affection for children in themselves. The child of an unmarried mother is at no particular disadvantage. His maternal grandparents welcome the infant, giving him social status in the community. When his mother marries, as she surely will after thus establishing irrefutable proof of her child-bearing abilities, her child is almost always adopted by her husband and thus given paternal lineage status.

853 The new-born child is taken to the sea and washed, then oiled and wrapped in soft pan-
846 danus mats. For two or more days until the mother's milk comes the child is fed on coconut cream whenever it cries. For the first few days of life also the infant is cradled in the arms of female relations most of the day and night. It is given the breast whenever it cries. The mother sits while nursing, the child cuddled in her arms. Feeding is a leisurely procedure. The child is not hurried in any way but is allowed to satisfy itself fully and doze off to sleep still at the breast. When the infant is older it is held upright to nurse, its feet resting on the mother's lap. Older infants still adopt any attitude in feeding from the breast that suits them. Soft coconut flesh is introduced into the infant's diet at an early age, never however as a substitute for the leisurely and warm intimacy of breast feeding. The infant, though never left alone whether sleeping or awake, is rarely carried about. The mother remains inactive
854 for some weeks after delivery. Thereafter when she participates more fully in gardening and
857 domestic duties she leaves her child within the house in the care of an older child or female relative. The infant is carried about only when the guardian is a young girl who cannot resist

[1] Fieldwork was carried out on the Polynesian atoll of Pukapuka, one of the northern Cook group, for seven and a half months. The culture has been described in some detail in Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (Bulletin, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, No. 150, 1938).

6;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

854 [857] the temptation of watching a group of her companions playing games on the beach. Then she carries the infant along with her, comforted gently in her arms.

As the infant grows older, it is gradually stripped of its baby coverings and lies naked on its mat. It then spends most of its time lying, sitting, and wriggling round beside the mother while she sits at her cooking or mat plaiting or else asleep within the cool house a few feet away. At this early age the child is good humoredly cleaned whenever it soils itself. Any older person in the household, male or female, who happens to be near the child at the time performs this task. Besides being fed whenever it shows signs of hunger, the child is always given the breast to comfort it and pacify it whenever it appears frightened or in pain. The child is comforted and petted in this way whenever it falls during the process of learning to walk.

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The household into which the child is born consists on an average of between six and seven persons. The basis of this group generally consists of the biological family of mother, father, and one or more children. The most common additional member is generally an adult son's wife. Thereafter adopted children and relatives of almost every possible degree of relationship help to add to the group's number.

The composition of this household remains relatively stable throughout the child's life. Such breaks in the social fabric as death, marriage, divorce, birth, adoption, weaning cause a slight rearrangement of numbers, rarely of fundamental composition. Children practically never change their residence or feeding house among a larger kindred group according to personal whim. It may be noted from this that the Pukapukan child is brought up in a definite type of household group; its contacts while young within the household are rather narrowly defined in range. The child is mainly cared for by its mother. The father has no specific duties to perform. He is sympathetic and lavish in his affection for his child, caring for it, however, only when it is necessary or convenient. During much of its waking life the infant is fondled and carried by any male or female relatives or friends who happen to be visiting or working at the parents' house. Authority over the infant is largely focussed in the mother. Love, dependence, and affection on the other hand tend to diffuse themselves among many members of or visitors to the household. This fact and those patterns relating to infancy already given may well be emphasized because they do suggest that up to the time of weaning the infant is enabled to develop emotional attitudes that give the utmost possible psychological security. And this security stands the infant in good stead not only throughout the gradual process of building up its early habit patterns, but also at the time of weaning. Pukapukan infancy up to the time of weaning, that is, seems to be marked by a very minimum of frustration in regard to basic physiological and emotional needs.[2]

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[2] In Pukapuka, we also strongly suspect, but cannot document, the fact that the lineage (here a paternal lineage) extends and deepens the sense of belongingness and safety secured first by the infant from a mother's cuddling. Besides its many sociological functions, therefore, the Pukapukan lineage tends to serve as a psychological device in this culture whereby a security and place of belonging are obtained by the child which transcends the immediate confines and experience of the family-household. Compare Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 229-33; James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern (New York, 1937), pp. 152-74.

159 feeding. Each time she puts him down, he sits up, cries and crawls onto her lap. Kneeling in her lap
862 he tries to grasp her breast. She pushes his hand away. He rolls onto his belly on the ground, kicks
152 his toes into the sand for a few minutes and then falls asleep. Whenever he is seen these days he is playing continually with his penis. Sometime later, when he wakes, his mother puts him outside the cookhouse. The railings of this are too high for him to climb over. He finally succeeds in entering the house by bending back the screen-mat tied to the railings, poking his head through a gap in the railing and tumbling into the house headfirst. His mother says he always enters the house in this way, "just like a baby getting born." She says weaning time is hard for the child. He cries all the time because he cannot get what he wants.

861 Discipline of children is secured in two ways: either by physical punishment or else by threats designed to arouse fear in the child. Discipline-frustrations are of the following order:

[823] For bodily hygiene: as soon as a child is old enough to walk, an older person, either parent or sibling, leads it to a proper place outside the house. A child old enough to be about by itself is expected to leave the house to attend to its bodily needs. Should it fail to do this, parents scold, threaten to whip and often do whip the child across the buttocks.

Physical punishment: A mother sends her son (12:0) to feed the family pigs. The boy goes off in the right direction but stops to play a game of marbles. His mother keeps her eye on him, continually calling out to him to get along to the pigs. After about half an hour, with the boy still playing marbles, the mother asks a man going in that direction to bring the boy back to her. The man carries the boy back on his shoulders. The mother puts down the infant she is nursing and whips the boy severely with a coconut leaf switch. A group of her friends sit around unconcerned. The boy finally runs from her into the house where he picks up an empty coconut and hurls it at his mother. It goes wide. His mother pays no more attention to him. Crying, the boy rolls on the ground for a while, then goes off to feed the pigs.

869 Threats: Parents threaten toddlers by telling them that animals, e.g., pigs or ducks, will get them if they disobey commands, or else that ghosts will eat them. Ghost threats are common at nightfall. (Fear of supernaturals is very strongly grounded in Pukapukan psychology.) Spitting or pretense of spitting at misbehaving children is also a common method of discipline.

573 In connection with all types of discipline the eldest boy in the family has special privi-
845 leges and powers over his younger siblings. He may whip his younger brothers or sisters if they disobey any of his commands.

152 Aggressive behavior towards younger or older siblings of the same or opposite sex appears to be common in Pukapuka. According to one excellent informant most children were unhappy if there were no younger brothers and sisters in the family. When her eldest son was about eight years old, he asked his mother to give birth to a sister for him. His mother said she would and when the latter told the boy she was pregnant, he was very happy and assured her many times that she was going to bear a female child. According to his mother this boy never showed any jealousy towards his younger siblings while they were still in-

322 Humor.

Loito, the matakivihivi, crosspatch of Motu Ko, had just returned from Wale this during the stay of the Ngake villagers in their rich islet. In characteristic fashion, enhancing the merits of her village motu, at the cost of the other two villages, reported that Wale, as usual, was awful; nothing to eat there. "Ko papa wau i latou lemu." "Their anuses merely flatulate." She accompanied the remark with the proper noise from her mouth. The point being, of course, that the other people had no food to eat and consequently could pass no feces. She laughed heartily at her joke.

527 Adoption.
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159 Mata and Leleau's adopted child, Lima, came back from school, took off his shorts and started down the road in the direction of Loto village. Mata screamed after him, and, seeing that he wasn't coming back, she ran after him, and after a while came back. Lima, who had been whipped, came running along in front of her crying hard. He went right into the house and she shut two doors on him.

I asked her what Lima had done, and she answered that after having been gone all morning, and coming home late from school to boot, here he was going to leave them (maka: throw them away), her and Leleau, and go off to his parents in Loto. He never stayed home with his adopted parents; this was her grievance. In point of fact, when the child came back from school, Mata paid no attention to him, Leleau was away.

A similar sentiment was expressed shortly afterward by another woman, Matala, the adopted mother of Vaiman. While we were talking, the little boy appeared. She asked him where he'd been. He said to the mata (house of death) in the next village. She then asked him why he had maka'a thrown over, left Akalili, his adopted father, like that. (Akalili was nowhere in sight.) It seems from these examples that foster parents exert every effort to keep their adopted children from visiting their real parents too much, to keep these children for themselves.

526 Introduced toys and games.
177 Marbles, pai, are made from wetau wood, and are about 20 mms. in diameter. A square or oblong is marked out on the ground, Kohoti te ala, and the stake marbles, tuku, are placed in the ala. Tuku te pai ki langa ki te ala. From the distance of a fathom or more, the contestants throw their tore [7] marbles, tamou, towards the ala. Throw or shoot the marble is pata. The man whose tamou is nearer the ala shoots

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

Lua is 34 years of age. She is friendly, intelligent, and capable. She was one of our best informants, and her honesty is unquestioned. //5

LUA'S STORY

My parents, now deceased, were members of Loto village. I was their first child, born in 1902, when they were both fairly young. Four children were born subsequently but all died. My parents never adopted other children. I was adopted soon after birth by an old couple who had also adopted my father when he was a boy. I lived permanently with this couple from the time when my adopted mother weaned me. I learned at about the age of five that they were not my real parents. No one, as I remember, told me of the fact of my adoption, but on those occasions when my real parents took me to their house for a day I noticed that they treated me differently from my adopted parents. They seemed much kinder to me and much more loving. In some way I must have sensed the situation. I cannot say now very definitely how they treated me but I must have been gradually impressed by something or other. Later on, other children commented to me on the way I was going to my blood-parents and then I was certain. I was always happy to see them. 159 [165] [597] 159 593 ● 597

Shortly after this my adopted father died. I felt pity for my adopted mother thereafter, but I really longed to be with my blood-parents. My adopted mother was uniformly kind to me. The old lady was specially solicitous about me whenever I got into quarrels, and always sought out the one who injured me in childish squabbles and scolded her soundly. This was quite noteworthy, because other parents were not so concerned for their children and let them get on with their companions as best they could.

My visits to my blood-parents became infrequent and continued so until the death of my adopted mother which occurred when I was about 12 years old. I remember the death-scene and the mourning-wake, but it was just like other wakes and I cannot remember my feelings at the time. After this I returned to live permanently with my blood-parents. Then it was that the last child was born to my mother. I remember this. I with other children stood 159 593

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ 11 Pukapuka OZ 11

watching the delivery. For some reason it was an extremely difficult birth and I became terribly frightened by what I saw. The child was born dead, but my mother soon became well again.

I loved my father much more than I loved my mother. My mother was never unkind to me, but it was my father who did most for me and gave me all the little things that I wanted. This is the reason I loved him more. My father not only sewed up clothes for me, but he washed them as well so that I would always have a clean dress for school or church. I do not think that I ever wished to marry him.

I remember that as a child I was especially frightened of old people. When I passed them on the road or in the bush it always seemed as if they were threatening me with knives, as if they wished to cut me up. I was afraid of ghosts too, like everyone else. Adults always frightened children, and children each other, with the cry, "Look out for the ghost!"

As a girl I loved to play at having babies. We used immature coconuts as babies just as the little girls do today. Sometimes only girls played this game, at other times both girls and boys, aged 10 years or so. We played at marriage and intercourse. After a pretended cohabitation, the girl-mother stuffed the coconut inside her dress and realistically gave birth to her child, imitating labor-pains and letting the nut fall at the proper moment. My mother did not like me to play this game, and she whipped me whenever she caught me at it. But I played it frequently all the same, because all the girls thought it was the best game. Other games we played were those that are common today, such as hide and seek, guessing games, water sports, and the game of a mock court where people are arrested by policemen for committing adultery (the game of *wai tule* that the children of Yato told you that they played all the time during their recent stay at their reserve islet of Motu Kotawa). I had many girl friends as a child, and we used to play together during most of every day.

When I was about 12 years old my father died in Samoa. Several years after this my mother married a man younger than herself. I was glad to have a new father for a change.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ 11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 584 836 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had intercourse [833] every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 593 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a [537] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night without exception right up to the time that labor pains set in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did many other men. They thought that I would make a good wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.